571 is worthy of note.

On solemn occasions, entrance to the tent is made in order of seniority.

• • • •

The support of the poor.

735 The aksakals collect food for the poor, exhorting everyone to give tengry khaky or kongsy khaky, i.e., alms /250/ to which the beggars have a right in the name of God or in the name of being in the neighborhood, even though for a short time, especially since as they wander about a great deal they will spread the fame of the benefactors in distant places. Those of the poor who have the strength to walk about the world beg for alms themselves. The customary law does not prohibit mendicancy. Women give alms with special eagerness.

In the belief of the Moslems, the prayers of the poor are heard by God. Altynalma dua al, dua altyn imes me? "Do not take gold, 732 take a prayer. Is not a prayer the same as gold?" (1) The blind,

1. Proverb.

cripples, etc. live with their relatives, who are forced to support them by the aksakals and biis on the basis of kinship. They say "this defect is from God." But if the kinsman himself has nothing, he leads the other about the world.

• • • •

Clergy and schools.

346 There are no large mosques in the steppe. They are organized in buildings (tam), but not in tents (uy). The namazi-dzhuma, the solemn divine service, is rarely read in them.

793 The Kazakh imam (prior), when he has finished studying at the religious seminary / medrese / is invited by someone who has built a mosque, or by that person's heirs. He is not promised a specific sum as an income. The income of the imam consists 1) in the offerings of the parishioners in natura (astyk) at the time of the harvest, to the amount of one-tenth of the harvest; 2) in dona-

[266 cont.]
x648 orders to the authorities to keep [267] constant and vigorous watch upon the maintenance of justice, desiring that they grant the Kazaks every possible protection and help (1). Fourth, large

1. This wish of Empress Catherine was written in her hand, December 27, 1782 on the report from the commander of Orenburg, Lieutenant General Apukhtin.

[346] sums of money were given to build mosques on the borders of Orenburg and Siberia, to which schools and caravansaries were to be attached.

[177] By assembling all these establishments at the principal points of the border, the Empress intended not only to bring the Kazaks closer to the Russians but also to moderate their ways.

Exertions and expenditures were all in vain, for the Kazaks showed not the slightest desire to be civilized. In the [721] following year (1783) they did so much damage with their raids that it was impossible not to use armed force to punish them. Consequently, in the month of February, 1784, a detachment of 3,462 men was sent beyond the Ural River, and when they were unable to find the guilty persons, they seized 43 Kazaks who had [727] not taken any part in the last raids, in order to force them to x648 give up the prisoners. Their kinsmen were exasperated by this 721 injustice and immediately crossed to the right bank of the Ural 726 to avenge themselves. Independently of this attack, the residents along the border were laid waste at other points by Kazaks who were not pillaging for vengeance but for the love of pillage (2). A certain Syrym Batyr stood out among them, and

2. In 1784 the Kazaks captured 176 Russians, and 175 in 1786. Who knows how many more they killed?

we will soon point him out as a man chosen to be the instrument of the most important revolutions among the Kazaks. Meanwhile

[269 cont.]
X 648 692 Catherine thought when she signed the ukase on May 2, 1784 for the formation of a border tribunal. Under the chairmanship of the supreme commander of Orenburg, it was composed of two clerks, two merchants, and two peasants who were Russians, a Kazak sultan and six Kazak elders, a deputy from the Bashkirs, and one from the Meshcheriaks. Its duty consisted of examining litigation and criminal cases which might take place between the Kazaks and the border residents.

X 648 [376] At the same time as this establishment, from which great advantages were expected, it was ordered to open mosques and schools for the Kazak children (1). The mosques were finished

1. May 2, 1784.

at Orenburg and Troitsk in 1785, and when this news was received, Catherine gave orders (2) to build schools and caravansaries

2. September 4, 1785.

or markets on the same sites without delay.

The persistent concern which this sovereign took in the state of the Kazaks was guided by her close attention to matters concerning them and a perfect knowledge of the real situation of her half-[177 savage subjects. Their constant banditry did not divert her from 721] the intention of giving them a taste of good organization. On the one hand, she justly forgave them for many signs of insolence, as men who had no idea of the advantages of public order. On the other hand, her clever mind was not slow to discover that the Kazak raids were often no more than just reprisals for the wrongs and violences they had undergone from the Russians on the border, without speaking of the Bashkirs, who often crossed the Ural in defiance of all the prohibitions against it and laid waste their enemies.

X 648 721 [270] Actually, many of the raids were the fruit of vengeance. But the daring undertakings of a powerful band of brigands, which gathered in 1784 near the borders, were not among those which

221 [312 cont.]
[484] have their principal festivals at this time also. They also choose
[527] autumn to practice barantas (2), for this season is favorable because
579
628

2. See footnote 1, Chapter II, page 167, on the barantas.

of the darkness of the nights and the vigor of the horses, which have been restored in good pastures for a whole season and are all the better disposed for long-distance and rapid running.

361 The Kazaks rarely camp in large numbers in the same place,
721 for their herds would be too cramped for space. But they form groups of several families, united by ties of blood or by reciprocal advantages. These groups move in a body from one place to another and do not separate unless there are important reasons. These mobile villages are called auls. The number of tents which comprise them depends on the circumstances.

101 Some Kazaks live in Khiva, the dominion of Bukhara, the
[241] possessions of [313] China, in Tashkent and Kokand, and in these
342 places they have houses, lands, and gardens (1), but their number is very limited.

712
346

[361]

1. It is said that in the last years of the 18th century, Karabulat, a rich Kazak of the Durt-Kara tribe of the Little Horde, built a small fort made of clay on the shore of the Syr [Darya]. Inside he built a small mosque, also of clay, and lived near it in his tent, in the midst of a large number of his kinsmen and faithful adherents, who camped with him. This fort, which
103 soon tumbled down, was called Kara-Bulat-Tam i.e., "Karabulat's wall." Caravans came to this place to buy provisions and paid a
651 small toll to the lord for free passage across his pasture lands. There were also some
311 cultivated lands near the fort.

351 /209 cont./ Then there are lighter structures, which constitute the actual yard of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ house. The yard is enclosed by a bulwark of earth, dung, reeds, etc. Poles, whose one end is propped against it, are fastened at the other end either to special supports or also to the bulwark. On top of these poles a reed roof is arranged over the entire yard. A roof is necessary in the winter quarters on the steppe because of the frequent winds and snowstorms. Inside, the yard is broken up into sev- [231] eral parts, of which /210/ the warmest are given to the small animals and cattle and those less warm to the horses.

361 The general impression made by the steppe winter-quarters is

[342] [346]

Steppe winter-quarters and mosque of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ clan of the Tuz on the Emba River.

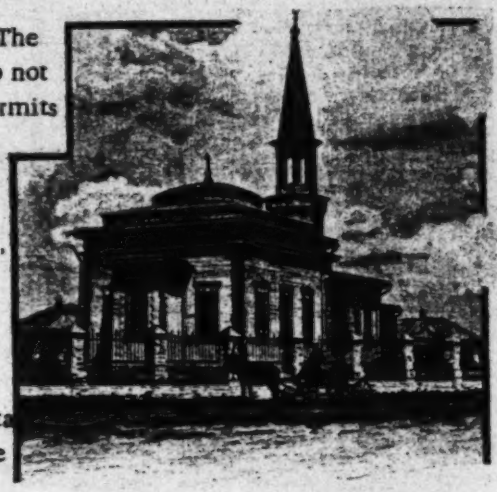
negative. In appearance it is a cluster of closely joined mud huts [132] surrounded by dung. In view of the frequent snowstorms, however, the proximity of the buildings is very convenient for the steppe population.

184 342 35 The winter camps of the Kirghiz /Kazak/ in forested localities have more comforts. The living quarters consist of a small hut with a small window and door, a floor, and a ceiling, although it, too, often lacks a roof. Most of the living space is taken up with bunks, covered with felt, mats, rugs, and cushions. Under the bunks, chests and other practical articles are placed. The oven, too, is of a more 184 modern type, more beautiful than convenient. The average middle- 343 class Kirghiz /Kazak/ has separate quarters in the courtyard, called

/221 cont./

796 785 the day lasts 18-20 hours, fasting constitutes a great feat, especially for the poor who have to work all day. The latter therefore often do not [779] observe it. The law permits taking food for three days or three periods [346 493] of three days only for old people, sick people, women in labor, and nursing mothers and children.

796 After "uraza," the holiday of "Ramazanayta [262] (Urazayta) begins. Like the preceding holiday



A type of urban Kirghiz /Kazak/ mosque.

it is marked by an abundant consumption of meat (mutton and horsemeat) and kumiss, and by the arrangement of various amuse- 769 ments (fights, races, etc.). In addition to these two holidays the Kirghiz /Kazak/ celebrate memorial services for their most honored dead, which are accompanied by various feasts, the usual races, competitions in horseback riding, etc.

/222/ The Kirghiz /Kazak/ have not yet emerged from 777 under the rule of nature. This dependence can be felt with 789 every step of the Kirghiz /Kazak/. All the events of his life which are in some way outstanding are linked with special signs, the carrying out of various rituals, etc. The inveterate Kirghiz /Kazak/ will not depart on a long journey, for example, on a Saturday or a Tuesday for fear of misfortune, for these days are considered "dangerous." In extremity he must carry out certain ceremonies in order to protect himself from inevitable misfortune, for example, to go out the night before, taking 40 steps from the yurt in the direction of the proposed journey, and to